5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional, Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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ceremonial circumstances, but *hambo* are freely exchanged between partners. All the characteristics already described of such objects of mediation as land, taro and pigs probably apply equally to *hambo*, though my evidence on this point is far less complete, due to the very large number of magical substances that enter into the construction of *hambo*. They are not, however, symbols of identity.

On a functional level, one may regard the *otohu* after the analogy of a membership badge to some association or even a credit card. It indicates to others that they can safely carry on transactions with the bearer. On a structural level, the two types of identity symbol – the plant emblem or *hae* and the *otohu* – constitute, in combination and in their interrelation, the reality of the entire Orokaiva social system. This system is dominated by two principles: corporate groups bound to a system of rules governing their co-operation and a system of exchange between corporate groups on which they depend for vital benefits. The *hae* symbolises membership of the corporate group whereas the *otohu* symbolises participation in the system of exchange. There are several significant symbolic contrasts: the *hae* is a natural object (usually a plant), never given or lent to anyone, deposited as a sign to members of the corporate group that corporate rights have been used by the depositor, but never openly shown except to signal anger felt towards members of the corporate group and a resolve to break the relationship. In contrast the *otohu* is a cultural object, lent to relatives who are entitled to wear it, but otherwise never deposited or transferred, and always shown conspicuously by the owner when he contemplates transactions outside the corporate group.

While a *hae* is transmitted automatically, the conferring of the *otohu* is an important ceremony that will be discussed in detail in this chapter. This discussion will be followed by a summary of the available evidence on the use of *hambo* (other than *otohu*) as objects of mediation in social exchange.

2. *The Nature of Otohu Ornaments*

Most ornaments are acquired by hunting, foraging, barter, purchase or inheritance. These may be regarded purely as decorations (*di* or *hambo*) and there are no restrictions on who may make or wear such ornaments, which are freely disposed of by barter or sale. The *otohu* is not distinguishable from other *hambo* except on the basis of specific knowledge of local practice. Some families have a particular shell which is their *otohu*, others may use a particular arrangement of hornbill beaks. Others again may have a special way of decorating armlets of white cuscus (*pauri*). There are many very beautiful and elaborate *hambo* which are not *otohu* and other much simpler ornaments which are *otohu*. Where large shells are *otohu* these are worn by themselves, on the chest or suspended on the side of the owner's betelnut bag. Other *otohu* are added to what would otherwise be an ordinary *hambo*: it is the addition of the *otohu* object which makes a *hambo* into an *otohu*.

In the earliest literature on the *otohu* it was regarded as an 'homicidal emblem'. Beaver (1920) reported that a man-slayer, having undergone some form of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient time receive his *otohu*. He gave two lists of objects that were supposedly so used, one for the coastal and central tribes (eight items) and one for the Wasida and trans-Kumusi

434 [583] [431] [525] was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these sources.

Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 Nine of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B) the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging [731] from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] [23] [321] [555] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the people of Sivepe as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A, [See Category 454, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

436 a standard of value. However, to some extent money seems to have
[555] taken over some of the functions of traditional valuables and in
some situations one is exchanged for the other. In the past it
[301] was recognised that skill and initiative in hunting and trading
[237] were necessary to acquire di hambo but today, with safer communi-
cations and better hunting equipment, they are more easily obtained.
[321] People are willing to buy some of the more valuable items or some
[439] cheaper items of European manufacture which can be adapted to
serve as a novel decoration.

Although they constituted the greater part of the goods changing
[428] hands on traditional ceremonial occasions, di hambo are evidently
not now circulating rapidly. A little less than half of these
valuables held by members of the sample had been inherited and
nearly a quarter had been acquired by the owner by hunting or
collecting.

A complete adjustment between the roles of money and of non-
monetary valuables has not yet been made. They circulate in the
same exchanges and both are considered essential; it may now be
[583] accepted practice that each should be contributed by or distributed
amongst different categories of kin on these occasions.[1] But the
opinion was widely expressed that as people are increasingly
demanding cash as a large part of bride price payments, the
intrinsic value of these exchanges was correspondingly less.

435 Although money and traditional valuables are not freely inter-
changeable, we collected details of the prices paid for any items
of di hambo which had been purchased by the sample,[2] and by using
these in conjunction with the unitary scale of value on which
informants could readily place all items, we assessed the possible
cash equivalent of non-monetary valuables acquired by the 12 house-
holds from various sources. This is set out in Table 8.

Table 8

Cash value and acquisition of hambo and di
($)

	Inherited	Purchased	Bride price or other exchange	Made or bought	Total
Hambo	48.40	9.30	17.70	16.60	92.00
Di	17.60	4.50	6.50	15.40	44.00
Total	66.00	13.80	24.20	32.00	136.00

1 See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:52.

2 These prices were very nearly the same as those recorded at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: Appendix B).

231 they marauded gardens, so that I assume that a good number could be rounded up if Sivepe were to hold a major feast. They were not at all accessible, however, and none were caught during such hunting [422] expeditions as the people organised. On the occasions when marauding pigs were shot, the pigs were always recognized and presented by the killer to the owner who then presented his pig to some other person. No doubt these pigs were a resource and perhaps I was at fault for not taking a census, but with no pigs visibly in evidence, I considered these assets as too shadowy. In Inonda, where Crocombe and Hogbin reported 12 pigs in 1962, only two were left in 1966.
235 My prognosis for pigs as an economic resource is poor. The fowl [262] population, on the other hand, had remained very much as it was at these earlier investigations: eggs were discovered and eaten occasionally, but the use of the fowl was for feasting when visitors [239] had to be entertained. It was also noticeable that the roosters were deprived of many of their choicest feathers at a time when [293] headdresses had to be refurbished for dancing or spears decorated. [411] At a visit from Togahou, which by traditional etiquette, as I understand it, should have rated at least one pig, the people of [574] Sivepe killed only fowls. This was, I was told, because there were no pigs available; hence the fowls were a proper substitute. It would seem that the fowl is rapidly becoming the substitute for the pig on many ceremonial occasions, though not yet for all occasions.

There is a great shortage of both pigs and fowls for these
438 ceremonial occasions. Pigs are bought for high prices ($20 to
439 $30)--from neighboring villages and even, as Crocombe and Hogbin say, from European planters. Fowls tend to be made available on [435] big occasions by whoever has them so that their number does not increase--a few dozen in each of the two villages.

We may distinguish, among local plant resources which yield
241 economic products, those plants which are native to the district
311 and those which have been introduced by Europeans for cash cropping purposes. Starting our survey with the former of these two categories, we shall deal first with food plants and next with economic trees. I have tabulated average food plants per household as shown for Rimoldi's Sivepe sample and as shown by Crocombe and Hogbin for Inonda (Table 7).[A] The pattern for the two places is remarkably similar except that sweet potato is a notably more important crop at Inonda than at Sivepe. The reason for this is that it is more dependable under drought conditions such as often occur at Inonda and also, it seems to do better at Inonda. The fact that the Inonda taro acreage is higher than the Sivepe acreage reflects no more than the higher yield per acre in the latter place. There is no evidence that any major change occurred in the quantities grown or the methods of cultivation over the period with which we are concerned, though a small increase in the consumption of Xantosoma taro may be a symptom that people may be starting to

A [See Cat. 126, p. 212--Analyst]